DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 229 489 UD 022 773

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TITLE The Price of Ethnic Identity: Maintaining Kin Ties among Pacific Islands Immigrants to New Zealand. Research Report No. 22.
PUB DATE Nov 82
NOTE 97p.; Paper presented at a symposium on "Mobility, Identity, and Policy in the Island Pacific" at the Pacific Sciences Congress (15th, Dunedin, New Zealand, February 1-11, 1983).
PUB TYPE Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Acculturation; *Adjustment (to Environment); Ethnic Groups; *Ethnicity; *Family Relationship; Foreign Countries; Group Unity; *Immigrants
IDENTIFIERS *New Zealand; *Pacific Islanders; Wendt (Albert)

ABSTRACT

In an attempt to evaluate the thesis of Albert Wendt, the well-known Samoan writer, that competing loyalties, goals, and expectations create tension among Polynesian migrants to New Zealand, this paper examines the psychological and social costs of Polynesian migration to an urban center in New Zealand. During 1979-80, 228 Samoans, 2,122 Cook Islanders, and 224 New Zealanders of European heritage were selected from within the same working class neighborhoods of Auckland, New Zealand. These groups were interviewed in their native language about their social and familial contacts, employment experiences, education, and general coping and adjustment patterns. In the paper, the experiences of one Samoan couple are presented, in order to describe the adjustment of Pacific Islanders to life in their adopted land. Three adaptation strategies (kin reliance, peer reliance, and self reliance) are discussed, and the consequences of these strategies for ethnic minority immigrants are considered. (GC)

THE PRICE OF ETHNIC IDENTITY:

MAINTAINING KIN TIES AMONG PACIFIC ISLANDS IMMIGRANTS TO NEW ZEALAND[1]

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November 1982

Research Report No. 22

ABSTRACT

Through his case studies and fiction Albert Wendt has documented in humanistic terms the many psychological and social costs of Polynesian migration to urban centers. The purpose of this paper is to examine the generalizability of his thesis, based on quantitative data from a survey study of 228 Samoans, 212 Cook Islanders and 224 native-born New Zealanders of European heritage, both men and women, randomly selected from within the same working-class neighborhoods of Auckland, New Zealand, and interviewed in their own language. In this way we hope to demonstrate the complementarity between the "humanistic" and "scientific" traditions as paths to understanding human behavior.

Invited paper for a symposium at the XV Pacific Sciences Congress, Dunedin, New Zealand, February 1-11, 1983, on "Mobility, Identity, and Policy in the Island Pacific." Not to be quoted without permission.

INTRODUCTION

In his novels, short stories and non-fictional case studies, the well-known Samoan writer Albert Wendt dramatically portrays the competing loyalties, goals and expectations which create so much tension among Polynesian migrants to New Zealand. Coming from a cultural background of close, cooperative, communal living they enter an impersonal, nuclear-family centered, competitive urban society in which they are disadvantaged by language, race and experience. Some "make it" on their host's terms, some struggle for an alternative. Most try to buffer the blows by maintaining close ties with their kin network and ethnic community, and maintain the dream of an eventual "return home" when they have acquired the fruits of their migratory efforts. Most never fulfill this dream, having become too alienated from and ill-adapted to traditional island life along the way. And the cost of maintaining this ethnic identity in a Western setting ill-designed in terms of both values and structure to support its requirements is also high. By documenting these costs in humanistic terms, Wendt has helped give us an "insiders view" of Polynesian migration. The purpose of this paper is to examine the generalizability of his insights, to refine their boundaries in quantitative terms, and to test relationships among key analytic variables which his more qualitative material hints at.

We approach this task by providing a running commentary to the account of one migrant Samoan family, Ben and Mabel Heller, as portrayed by Wendt (1981). Drawing on an in-depth survey study conducted by the authors in Auckland during the summer of 1979-80, we show how the Hellers' particular adaptation to life in New Zealand both reflects and deviates from more general processes among Pacific Island migrants. Statistics based on survey data lose their capacity for conveying the drama of real lives. The Hellers are real people, Wendt's relatives, though they carry fictional names. Although they are not "typical" Samoan migrants, the ideographic nature of this case material in no way detracts from its value to the social scientist when its place within the range of variability among Polynesian migrants can be clearly specified (Pelto and Pelto 1970, revised 1978:77). As paths to understanding human behavior there is an inherent complementarity between the "humanistic" and "scientific" traditions which anthropologists have traditionally attempted to meld.

POLYNESIAN MIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND

Although the islands of the South Pacific were known to Western explorers from the time of Magellan's first trip around the world in 1521, and were periodically visited by such explorers as Captain James Cook in the 18th century, Western influence began in earnest with the concerted efforts of the London Missionary Society after the start of the 19th century. Competition for religious influence in the area by Catholic priests and French control over the Society Islands in the eastern Pacific finally precipitated British political intervention. But this was challenged by both German and American commercial and naval interests to the west in Samoa. It wasn't until early in the 20th century that these competing Western interests were sorted out: New Zealand acquired political control of the Cook Islands (as well as Niue) from England in 1901 and of Western Samoa in 1914, when the German colony surrendered to a New Zealand invasionary force.

A few adventurous Polynesians travelled to New Zealand during the first half of the 20th century, but only after World War II did they begin coming in large numbers. Table 1 presents the growth of this segment of the New Zealand population in successive census years since 1945, and Table 2 their proportion of the total population in 1976. Samoans and Cook Islanders constitute the major

Insert Tables 1 & 2 about here

TABLE 1 Pacific Islanders in New Zealand: 1945 - 1976

Census year	Total	NZ born	% NZ born
1945	1,896		
1951	3,624		
1956	8,103		
1961	14,340	5,640	39.3
1966	26,271	11,157	42.5
1971	45,413	20,829	45.9
1976[a]	61,354	23,567	38.4
1976	est. 92,500	45,000	49.2

a In 1976 the criterion for designation as a 'Pacific Islander' in the official census was changed from any degree of Polynesian blood (unless 50% or more N.Z. Maori) to 50% or more Polynesian blood (unless 50% or more N.Z. Maori). Since 25% - 50% of Pacific Islanders in New Zealand are marrying Europeans, and at entry over 25% are themselves of mixed racial background, about 22% of 'Pacific Islanders' born in New Zealand are now being classified as 'Europeans'. (Compare the proportion of NZ born in 1971 with 1976.) Our 1976 estimate, based on extrapolation from the earlier figures, is an attempt to predict the number of New Zealanders with some degree of Polynesian blood, living in families in which Pacific Islands culture is an important influence.

TABLE 2 Ethnic Composition of the New Zealand Population: 1976 Census

Ethnic Groups	N	% of population
New Zealand-born Europeans	2,302,059	73.6
Foreign-born Europeans of English heritage	346,270	11.1
Continental Europeans	44,854	1.4
New Zealand Maoris	270,035	8.6
Pacific Islanders	61,354	2.0
Chinese	14,860	0.5
Indian	9,247	0.3
Other	80,704	2.6
Total	3,129,383	100.0

segments of this migrant flow, because of their special political status. Although Western Samoa attained independence from New Zealand on January 1, 1962, and its citizens thereby lost free access to the country, immigration policies have been liberal and they countinue to be the largest single group of island immigrants. Cook Islanders chose internal self-government in lieu of independence, granted in 1965, thereby retaining New Zealand citizenship and migration rights. By 1976 there were more Cook Islanders living in New Zealand than in their home islands, and this trend continues (Table 3).

Insert Table 3 about here

Table 3 also presents the geographic distribution of this growing segment of the New Zealand population. Despite their rural background, the vast majority (96% of the Samoans and 86% of the Cook Islanders) settle in one of New Zealand's 24 urban areas, since this is where jobs, housing and educational opportunities for their children are most readily available, and where concentrations of relatives and co-ethnics can be found to assist them in their initial adaptation. As New Zealand's major urban-industrial area, Auckland is host to the majority of Samoan and Cook Islands immigrants. Consequently, although Pacific Islanders constitute no more than 2% of New Zealand's total population, their geographic concentration makes them an important factor in New

TABLE 3 Geographic Distribution of Polynesians in New Zealand 1976 Census

Ethnic Group	Home Island	New Zealand	24 Urban Areas		Auckland	
	N	N[a]	N[a]	%	N[a]	%
N. Z. Maoris	- 270,035 -		151,907	56.3	60,110	22.3
Samoans	151,515	27,876	26,665	95.7	17,115	61.4
Cook Islanders[b]	18,128	18,610	16,000	86.0	10,884	58.5
Niueans[b]	3,843	5,688	5,475	96.3	4,845	85.2
Tongans[c]	90,072	3,980	--	--	--	--
Tokelauans[b]	1,575	1,737	1,610	92.7	323	18.6

a Includes only those with 50% or more Polynesian blood

b New Zealand citizens with free entry

c Tongans were grouped with 'Other Polynesians' in the available census figures.

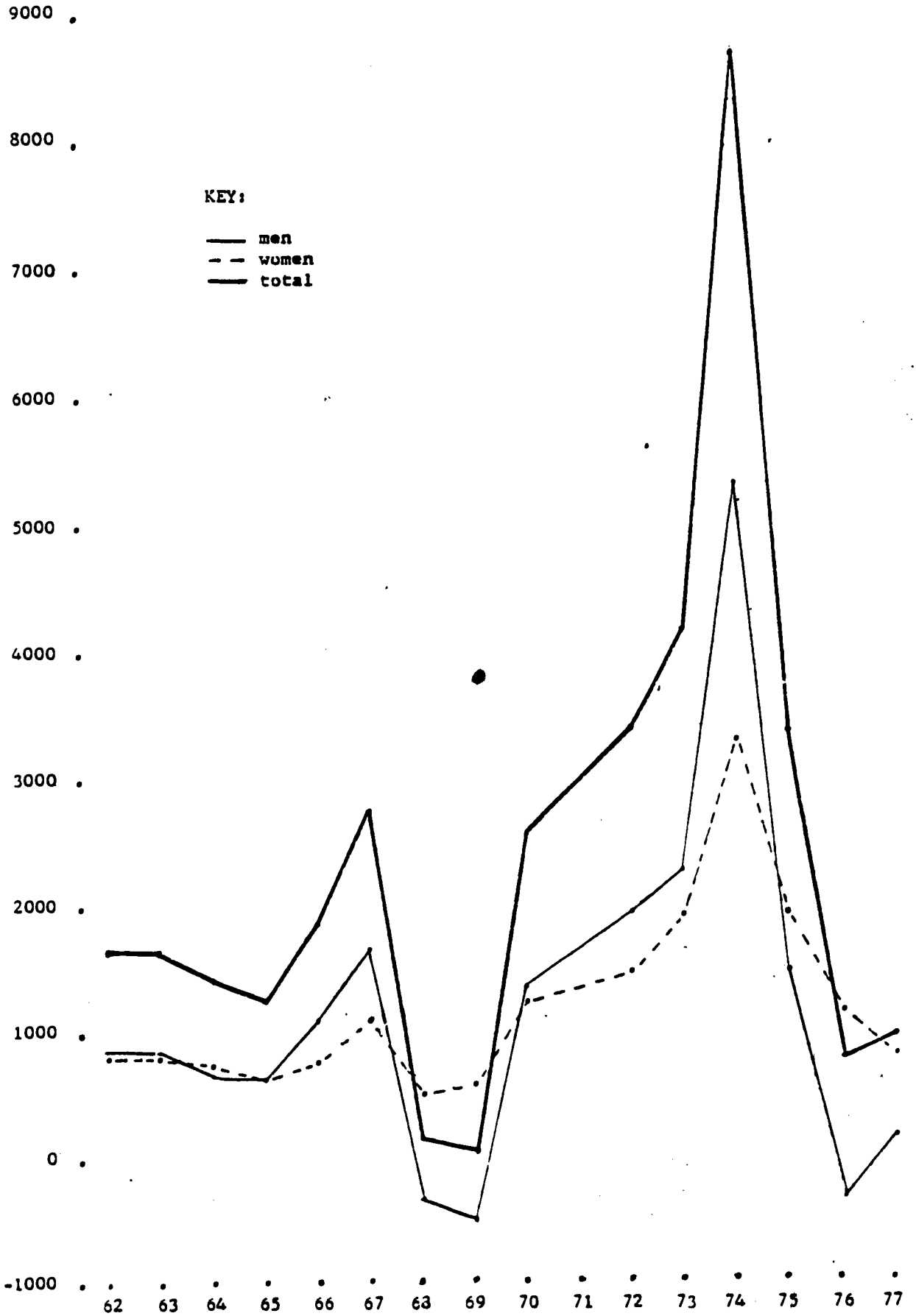
Zealand life. In a number of factories where we have worked they and native New Zealand Maoris (descendants of the first Pacific Islanders to emigrate to New Zealand even before British colonization), constitute a majority of the floor-level production workers.

In general, New Zealand employers value Pacific Islands workers, and their influence has undoubtedly been important in mitigating government efforts to restrict their immigration. The migration flow (particularly among men) is sensitive to changing economic conditions in New Zealand, rising when jobs are plentiful and falling off when they are not (Figure 1).

Insert Figure 1 about here

Consequently, employers see Pacific Islanders as constituting a readily available labor pool which costs most of them nothing to import and nothing to maintain during slack periods. Furthermore, as we will see below, Pacific Islanders are in general more dependable and stable than native New Zealand workers, less prone to conflicts with authority and less likely to "strike with their feet." In order to integrate this valuable human resource in a non-exploitative manner, however, it remains for both employers and the society at large to provide the structural opportunities for Pacific Islanders to achieve as fully as possible their own version of the "good life."

FIGURE 1 Net In-Migration of Pacific Islanders to New Zealand: 1967-1977



As one approach to understanding this growing Polynesian segment of New Zealand society and the particular problems of adaptation which they face, the authors conducted an in-depth survey interview study in Auckland during the summer of 1979-80 among a large sample of Samoans and Cook Islanders and a comparison sample of native-born New Zealanders of European heritage living in the same neighborhoods. We will refer to this group by the geographically ambiguous but culturally accurate term "Europeans," rather than "caucasians," "whites," or the native Maori or Samoan terms "pakehas" or "papalagi." All of these are equally misleading or offensive. Over 90% of these "Europeans" would be of British, Australian, U. S. or Canadian heritage.

The survey instrument was constructed by an "insider-outsider" team composed of the senior authors (TDG and NBG), psychological anthropologists who moved to New Zealand in 1971-72 to study Polynesian adaptation, and two Samoan, (VNS and IAS) with Masters' degrees in psychology, who had come even earlier to pursue their higher education. The interview schedule was based on our own research with migrant groups over the last 20 years in New Zealand, the U.S., and East Africa, the extensive literature on the subject (reviewed by Graves and Graves 1972, 1974, 1980), and the research team's personal experience as immigrants.

The interview, which generally took between one and two hours, was theory-based in its design, with the explicit intent of making possible an empirical examination of the relationship between the stress of urban adaptation and the migrants' health status, as mediated by their

general "adaptive strategies" for coping with life in the city. (For the theoretical background of this study, see Graves and Graves 1972, 1974, 1977b and 1980). Consequently, questions tapped most major areas of general life adaptation: background experience and training, economic adjustment, family life, relations with friends and relatives, leisure activities including drinking behavior, life changes and daily hassles, and such psychological variables as Type A personality attributes, as well as symptoms of both mental and physical health problems.

Because many of our subjects were expected to have little formal education, questions were simple and concrete in sentence structure, and contained a number of non-verbal procedures for scaling responses designed by the authors.[2] We also wanted to keep the language simple so that we could achieve as close an approximation as possible to "decentered" translations into English, Samoan, and Cook Islands Maori (Werner and Campbell 1970).

During early November 1979 an interview team composed of two men and two women from each of the three ethnic groups under investigation was recruited and trained by the authors. Subjects were selected by a mixture of area and quota sampling from three sections of Auckland: central city along the motorway, an old industrial area to the south, and a newer suburban residential area further south. These areas were selected both because they represented three types of working class neighborhoods, and because all three ethnic groups lived in them.

Interview teams randomly selected no more than one eligible household of each ethnic group from each block. The survey was then administered to one or both heads of household by same sex, same ethnic group interviewers in the subject's primary language. If the household contained offspring who had completed school, one was also randomly selected for interviewing. In "flatting" situations where no clear "head of household" could be designated, no more than one resident of each sex was randomly selected for interviewing. Only working-class subjects between the ages of 16 and 51 were interviewed; students and the few professionals and artists who chose to live in these neighborhoods were eliminated from the sample.

The survey was completed by the beginning of April, 1980. In total, 664 usable interviews were completed from these three ethnic groups.[3] Major characteristics of the sample are presented in Table 4.

Insert Table 4 about here

Note that the groups are relatively homogeneous in age, maritial status and rate of pay, though the migrant Polynesians are slightly older ($p < .05$) and the Samoans are more likely to be married.

There are several important background and demographic differences among the groups, however. The native-born New Zealanders of European cultural background have had significantly more formal education, and are far more likely to have passed the School Certificate examination, a prerequisite for higher education or most trade apprenticeships. They also are far more likely to have been raised in an urban

TABLE 4 Sample Characteristics

	Samoans	Cook Islanders	Europeans
Number in sample			
men	104	95	104
women	124	117	120
Age			
mean	31.0	31.5	30.0
(s.d.)	(7.8)	(9.4)	(9.4)
Years of Education			
mean	6.8	7.2	8.3
(s.d.)	(2.1)	(1.4)	(1.1)
School C Pass	14%	4%	43%
% Married	75%	64%	64%
Household Size			
median	6	5	4
Children under 16			
mean	1.8	2.4	1.1
% Urban Raised	9%	10%	77%
Median Hourly Pay Rate			
men	$3.97	$3.75	$3.96
women	$3.35	$3.45	$3.30

environment (77%); only about 10% of the Pacific Islanders were raised in New Zealand, although about a quarter of the Samoans and over 40% of the Cook Islanders in our sample were raised in or near the capital towns in the islands.

Consequently, most of the immigrant Polynesians are clearly disadvantaged in language, training and experience for coping with urban-industrial life. In addition their households are significantly larger than those of their European neighbors, mainly because they have more dependent children. These European-Polynesian differences in household size would be even larger if it were not for the 20% of European subjects in our sample who were "flatting" with their friends, often in large groups to cut down on rent. This means that the working adults in these Polynesian households have an extra burden of non-productive members to support.

Despite these structural and experiential disadvantages, Pacific Islands immigrants to New Zealand appear in general to be making a <u>better</u> adaptation to life than their non-Polynesian neighbors. They report significantly fewer health problems, fewer days absent from work for health reasons, and fewer visits to doctors, hospitals and clinics than the Europeans in our sample. It is probable that Pacific Islanders under-use formal medical facilities because of cultural and linguistic barriers. Nevertheless, the convergence of alternative data is noteworthy. These group differences in health status can be accounted for by lower rates of <u>psychosomatic</u> symptoms among these Polynesians in our

sample. They are subject to very similar environmental stressors--the daily hassles and life changes which are so much a part of working-class life. But they are significantly less likely to display the psychological tensions and pressures which manifest themselves in the form of insomnia, nervousness, and a variety of little accidents.

One important factor in their successful adaptation to the stress of urban life is undoubtedly the "buffering" effect of the support Islanders receive from their relatives and the wider ethnic community. As we will see below, most immigrant Pacific Islanders receive substantial help from kinsmen in getting to New Zealand in the first place, in finding housing and jobs, in making friends, and in communicating and dealing with the dominant New Zealand society. Their relatives are major "cultural brokers" for these migrants, and this assistance tends to strengthen their ethnic identity just as the wider society offers them compelling alternatives.

The price of this dependence on kinsmen, however, is also high. In order to be able to count on your relatives, they have to be able to count on you. The resulting cultural ambivalence, and the search for a viable synthesis will be an important theme in the sections which follow.

NEW ZEALAND SUBURB FOR MABEL AND BEN HELLER[4]

Mabel and Ben Heller were part of the first wave of post-war migration from Samoa to New Zealand, arriving in the mid 1950s. This places them at the upper age level of our sample and among those who have been in New Zealand longest (almost 30 years. The median for our Polynesian sample falls between 7 and 8 years). It also places them among the most Westernized and self-reliant, since in those days prospective migrants had fewer relatives already in New Zealand to assist them, and it was harder to raise the price of a passage.

Mabel's paternal grandmother was part-German and Ben's maternal grandfather was part-German. Though both their fathers have Samoan surnames, Mabel and Ben were, in their birth certificates, given their German ancestors' surnames so they could attend the English-language elementary school in Apia, which, in those days of colonialism, you could attend only if you had a papalagi surname. Samoan was the language in both their homes, so was the lifestyle, but both their sets of parents expected their children to speak English, get jobs in business or the civil service, and pursue lifestyles that were appropriate to and worthy of their papalagi ancestry.

Only about a quarter of Pacific Islands migrants today have part-European ancestry; this percentage was probably higher for those migrating in the earliest waves, like Ben and Mabel, because it provided a basis for identification with a papalagi (European) way of life and appropriate parental aspirations. Today migrants can look to New Zealand more as a resource center while retaining their Polynesian identity.

Mabel is from a village about 2 miles from the centre of Apia, from an aiga of very modest means. Her father, though the son of the highest alii in _____ and raised in a very traditional manner, went to Marist Brothers' school, the only

elementary school at that time, learned fluent English, and modelled his life, to a great extent, on that of his wealthy part-European friends. Similarly, though Mabel's mother, a nurse, was from a remote village in Savaii, she raised her 9 children to be English-speaking, shoed, and extravagant; her children were not going to end up in the village!

Table 5 presents the family background experience of our migrant sample. In comparison to the average Samoan migrant, Mabel Heller had

Insert Table 5 about here

far more exposure to a Western way of life. Two-thirds of Samoan migrants were raised in a remote village; Mabel was raised near Apia, the capital town of Western Samoa. For both Samoans and Cook Islanders, being raised in or near an urban area is the single strongest predictor of subsequent Westernization. Mabel was also unusual in being raised an English speaker. Even today this is true of less than 20% of Samoan migrants and only about a third of Cook Islanders. As the eldest daugher, Mabel undoubtedly helped raise her younger brothers and sisters, as is true of almost all Polynesian girls, but she was discouraged from traditional female chores and oriented instead toward developing a Western life-style.

Mabel was the eldest child and her parents' favourite. She was expected to get a secretarial job in government, marry a wealthy part-European, and raise the status of their aiga. At home, she was discouraged from sharing the chores other women were expected to do, and from participating in traditional life. Mabel, after she graduated from elementary school, proceeded to fulfill her parents' dreams. She became an expert secretary, confined her friendships to part-Europeans and her papalagi employers, acquired a talkative self-assurance, and was envied by the other village girls and their mothers. The next step was for her either to marry someone wealthy, or go to New Zealand and become an even more distinguished secretary, marry well and then pay for her other kin to migrate to New Zealand for study and work.

TABLE 5 Family Background Experiences

	Samoans (N=228)	Cook Islanders (N=212)	Europeans (N=224)
Where raised:			(rural New Zealand:)
remote village	66%	46%	23%
in or near capital	25%	44%	(urban New Zealand:)
New Zealand	9%	10%	77%
% Who spoke English outside of school when growing up	18%	38%	100%
% Who helped raised younger children			
men	87%	58%	30%
women	97%	81%	28%
Head of household's job type:			
subsistence/cash crop	35%	41%	2%
laborer/tradesperson	34%	45%	55%
business, clerical & professional	31%	14%	43%
Family wealth:			
% above average	61%	37%	32%
Family influence:			
% above average	78%	34%	43%

Mabel came from an influential family in her village, as did the majority of Samoan migrants in our sample. Since her father spoke fluent English, he probably held a white-collar job, as did her mother. This would place her well into the upper third of the distribution of Samoan migrants in terms of parental job type. But over 60% saw their families as wealthier than the average family in their village. Mabel also had more education than most Samoan women, and her parents looked to her future success to increase the family fortune. For most Samoan migrants, as we will see, going to New Zealand is part of a wider strategy for raising the status of the entire family. Mabel was expected to be an instrument of this parental ambition.

Wealth and status have traditionally gone hand in hand in the islands (and correlated .55 in our sample, as compared to only .28 among Europeans). Prior to the introduction of a Western cash economy, however, there were relatively few ways to store wealth, or to display it other than giving it away--what we have termed "conspicuous generosity" (Graves and Graves, 1978). An extravagant life-style has now become an alternative symbolic vehicle for expressing status.

Ben's aiga was also of modest means. It was very Samoan because his father was an alii and proud of being Samoan and expected his four sons to get a good education, help him in his business and, after sometime, become matai. Ben was the oldest and was shy, unsure of himself, but, as a youth, he became a popular rugby player and guitarist. There were no high schools then, so after he graduated from elementary school, he worked as a clerk in the civil service. He was quiet, hardworking and loyal, expecting to be promoted to the senior ranks while he was still young. He was, so the elders said, just like his father _____ sensible, dedicated, thrifty, honest, and devoted to his aiga and village. No one could remember Ben ever being an irresponsible boy as tho' he had bypassed childhood for middle age.

Ben's village is next door to Mabel's.

Ben also had more exposure to Western influence than the average Samoan migrant, growing up near Apia, acquiring all the schooling then available in the islands, and immediately beginning a career in the civil service. His family was apparently of lower status than Mabel's, but having a father in business also placed him in the upper third of the distribution of parental job types. As we will see, Ben, too, viewed New Zealand as a means for improving his fortune and thereby raising his family's status.

Differences between Samoans and Cook Islands immigrants are worth comment at this time. Historically, "step migration" has been the typical Cook Islander pattern: first a move from one of the out-islands to Rarotonga, where the capital of Avarua is located, followed by migration to New Zealand. Since the turn of the century Rarotonga has absorbed most of the population growth which Western medical care produced, leaving the out-islands relatively stable demographically (Graves and Graves, 1976). Residence in Rarotonga provided many potential Cook Islands migrants to New Zealand with greater opportunity to speak English and to prepare themselves for the next step than Samoans living in remote villages. But it also could cut them off from their extended families and leave them with limited access to land. Consequently, the out-islander in Rarotonga is apt to occupy a marginal social status, and migration to New Zealand may become more of an economic necessity. The relatively low economic position of the families of Cook Islands migrants in our sample possibly reflects this process.

It isn't important to our story <u>how</u> they met but they <u>did</u> meet and they <u>did</u> fall in love, without their parents' knowledge, and knowing that Mabel's mother wouldn't approve of their relationship, they planned to go singly to New Zealand and, without their parents knowing, get married.

Mabel went first, got a job and an apartment. A year later, Ben followed. They married in summer, attended by only a few friends and relatives, in the Registry Office. A few weeks later, Mabel wrote and told her mother who wept lengthily and loudly, claiming that her poor daughter had married beneath her and their aiga.

Ben and Mabel were far more self-directed in their decision to migrate to New Zealand than most islanders, particularly Samoans (Table 6). Although about half the men claim to have made the decision

Insert Table 6 about here

mainly by themselves, only 16% of the Samoan women report this. For the rest the decision was more of a family matter. Samoans report that it is particularly common for families to send their single daughters to New Zealand, because they are more dependable than sons in sending remittances back home (Shankman, 1976).

When it comes to buying their ticket, however, islanders are even more dependent on their realtives than in making the decision to migrate. Over three-quarters of the Samoans reported that their fare was paid for mainly by their family; this was true for a smaller majority of Cook Islands migrants.

Ben and Mabel were also probably younger than most New Zealand migrants of their vintage. The mean age at migration in our sample is early twenties, and this has been getting lower each year. (The correlation between age at migration and year of migration is -.66.)

TABLE 6 Preparation for Migration

	Samoans		Cook Islanders	
	men	women	men	women
Age at migration:				
mean	24.1	19.4	22.6	22.5
(s.d.)	(6.7)	(7.9)	(9.5)	(9.2)
% Married when migrated:	27%	14%	34%	35%
% With premigration employment experience:	47%	37%	56%	56%
How migration decision was made:				
mainly by themselves	52%	16%	56%	50%
mainly by their family	48%	84%	44%	50%
Who paid the fare?				
mainly themselves	22%	26%	45%	36%
mainly their family and relatives	78%	74%	55%	64%

Mabel and Ben were well-prepared for New Zealand: they were fluent in English; they wanted the affluent white middleclass life and knew how to go about acquiring it.

They are un-Samoan in the sense that they plan almost everything well beforehand. They wanted a home in the suburbs and the best education for the 2 children they were going to have.

Not only were the Hellers more self-reliant in their decision to migrate, but also in their initial adaptation to life in New Zealand. Their fluent command of English and their prior white-collar work experience in Samoa freed them from the initial dependence on their relatives in New Zealand which most immigrants from the islands report (Table 7). Only a handful of islanders (about 5-10%) are able to find

Insert Table 7 about here

their own place to live in less than two months; the average migrant lives with relatives for between two and three years. Relatives are also important for a majority of male migrants in helping them find their first job in the new country; a typical pattern is for the established kinsman to find them a position at their own place of work, which is one reason why so many Polynesians have relatives employed in the same company with them. (The proportions are even higher among those still on their first jobs.) In a large number of cases relatives also accompany new migrants to their job interviews. Most Samoans are unable to communicate freely in English when they arrive, and are therefore dependent on relatives to help translate for them. For Samoans, this linguistic dependence usually lasts about two years.

TABLE 7 Initial Experience in New Zealand

	Samoans		Cook Islanders	
	men	women	men	women
When came to N.Z., how long lived with relatives?				
% 2 months or less	1%	8%	5%	14%
mean months	35	30	29	22
(s.d.)	(22.3)	(23.9)	(26.9)	(22)
% Who obtained first job with help from relatives	63%	49%	57%	43%
% Accompanied by relatives to job interview	55%	17%	45%	20%
% Currently having relatives working in same company	49%	33%	62%	68%
Time in N.Z. before no longer needed someone to help translate for them				
% no help needed	12%	49%	60%	92%
mean years	1.9	2.2	1.1	.4
(s.d.)	(1.8)	(3.2)	(2.1)	(1.6)
% Currently reporting a substantial strain to carry on a conversation in English ($\geq$7 on a scale from 0-9)	41%	11%	22%	19%

Europeans, of course, are far less dependent than Polynesians for help in obtaining their first job: only about a quarter received such help, mainly from their parents, and less than a quarter currently reported relatives at their place of employment.

This initial dependence on kinsmen for housing, work and linguistic mediation with the dominant society tends to strengthen family ties and ethnic identification. Inevitably, it also provides a buffer between the new migrant and the dominant society which both eases the stress of transition and slows down the process of assimilation.

Again, we see that Cook Islanders are in general better prepared for life in New Zealand upon arrival: only 8% of the women and 40% of the men lacked fluency in English, fewer lived for long periods with relatives, more were able to find jobs on their own, and fewer needed the company of relatives at their job interviews.

Once settled in New Zealand, Ben and Mabel wasted no time in establishing secure white-collar positions.

> *Within five years, Ben was a senior clerk and Mabel was the head typist in her office. They were ready for children, and had a daughter and, 1½ years later, a son.*

Economically the Hellers were extremely unusual among Polynesian migrants and were probably even better off than a majority of their European neighbors (Table 8). Only 6% of Polynesian men in our migrant

Insert Table 8 about here

sample held white-collar jobs such as Ben could obtain, or jobs as a licensed tradesperson. Even among Europeans in our sample, a majority

TABLE 8 Men's Employment Experience

	Samoans (N=104)	Cook Islanders (N=95)	Europeans (N=104)
Job Level			
unskilled/semiskilled laborer	16%	34%	5%
skilled laborer	78%	60%	48%
licensed tradesperson or white-collar	6%	6%	47%
Median Job Length	4-1/2 yrs.	6 yrs.	2 yrs.
% Holding positions of responsibility	19%	15%	47%
% of those not holding positions of responsibility who would like to	73%	35%	49%
Hourly Pay Rate			
mean	$4.12	$3.88	$4.41
(s.d.)	(.85)	(.76)	(1.02)
% Willing to work more hours	61%	58%	41%

of the men held no better than jobs as manual laborers. The major difference between Polynesian and European workers, however comes in the range of employment opportunities and challenges open to them. Almost half of the European men in our sample held positions of responsibility in their firm, such as foreman, leading hand or union representative. By contrast, less than 20% of the islanders held such positions. Lacking a fluent command of English is a barrier to some; over 40% of the Samoan men and over 20% of the Cook Islands men in our sample still report a substantial strain when carrying on a conversation in English (refer back to Table 7). But employers should recognize a large and willing potential supervisory talent from within the ranks of their Polynesian employees: over half of the Samoan men who did not hold positions of responsibility said they would like to, as did over a third of the Cook Islanders.

The result of this underutilization of talent is that Polynesians are more homogeneous than Europeans in the jobs they hold and the income they command. Although all these ethnic groups were similar in their median hourly wage (already reported in Table 4), the upper range of European wages is higher, so that both the mean and the standard deviation are greater.

(The women's employment experience will be reported later in our story.)

With secure and well-paying jobs, and clear plans for their future, Ben and Mabel settled into a frugal regime, skimping and saving for the suburban life they dreamed of for themselves and their children:

Their whole life, then and today, is based on one financial principle: 1/3 of their combined incomes is spent on housekeeping and their home; 1/3 on the church and aiga faalavelave and the car and other extras; 1/3 is banked.

Before they married, Mabel tended to be extravagant with money--she enjoyed parties and new clothes, but, within one year of married life, she curbed this. Occasionally, throughout their life, her extravagance surfaces, and both she and Ben feel guilty pandering to it!

While they saved, they played an increasingly important role in the Samoan community and their aiga. They became known, goodnaturedly, as 'le aiga aimamoe', 'the family who eat mutton', because whenever they contributed to church or aiga feasts, it was nearly always mutton, the cheapest meat. However, as their relatives and other Samoans observed the successful results of Mabel's and Ben's frugality, they too began to save; they also sought advice from them about their legal rights, house financing, state family benefits, and so on.

It is well-known in Samoan communities anywhere that if you want to be wealthy papalagi-style (e.g. in terms of material possessions) you have to cut yourself off from the faa-Samoa and the financially demanding faalavelave. Mabel and Ben did not want to do this; they participated fully in aiga and community affairs but their financial contributions were what their budget could afford without jeopardising their drive for a suburban home.

Given the New Zealand stereotype of "islanders" as improvident with their money, it is instructive to see that a higher proportion of Polynesians have bank accounts than do their European neighbors from a similar economic stratum (Table 9). (Higher rates of savings accounts among Polynesian workers were also found in one factory study, Graves and Graves, 1977a.)

Insert Table 9 about here

And among those who regularly save, all three ethnic groups put aside roughly $40 per week, on the average, or over a quarter of the major wage earner's income.

TABLE 9 Expenditures: Contributions to Family and Community

	Samoans (N=228)	Cook Islanders (N=212)	Europeans (N=224)
% with savings account	86%	78%	68%
Average amount of yearly income spent on:			
1) Family obligations (weddings, funerals, etc.)	$ 463	$158	$146
2) Support of relatives	$ 568	$286	$ 24
3) Church contributions	$ 400	$ 65	$ 53
4) Community contributions			
a) New Zealand	$ 32	$ 15	$ 35
b) Overseas	$ 48	$ 10	$ 1
Total 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 =	$1,511	$534	$259
% Who helped bring over a relative last year	64%	24%	(not asked)

In addition to savings, islanders feel a strong obligation to make large contributions to their relatives, church and community. These contributions are a necessary part of maintaining their reputation within the wider family, and subtle forms of social pressure (such as being referred to as "mutton eaters") are brought to bear to insure that their contributions remain as high as possible. For Samoans this amounts to over $1,500 a year. Based on hourly wage figures in Table 1, we can estimate an average nuclear family income of roughly $8,000 by the men and $3,350 by their wives (since only half of them work). This makes such family contributions over 13% before taxes, and taxes are high in New Zealand. Small wonder that many Samoans feel real pressure from their financial contributions to their ethnic community.

After about nine years of life in an inexpensive central-city apartment, scrimping and saving with two growing children, the Hellers were ready to make their move to the suburbs:

> *They bought a section in a new suburb about 1½ hours from the city centre and located over a low mountain range. The suburb was government land, and sections were being sold at reasonable prices newly-married couples could afford.*
>
> *Most Samoans lived in the inner city and couldn't understand why Mabel and Ben were shifting out of the safety of the Samoan community into the unknown wilds of suburban pakehadom so far away. Some admired Mabel and Ben's courage, a few were envious.*

By putting a mountain range and an hour and a half of travel time between themselves and the majority of their Samoan friends and relatives, the Hellers clearly indicated their determination to assimilate into the wider New Zealand society. This symbolic act probably evoked more than envy and admiration from other Samoans. At the very least, it

inevitably reduced their social interaction with other Samoans to a minimum.

This placed the Hellers in an unusual position relative to other Polynesian immigrants. Most are highly involved socially with their ethnic community (Table 10). A home in the suburbs is not congruent

Insert Table 10 about here

with this ethnic involvement. In the first place, although a "nuclear" household composed of a conjugal couple and their own children is the Western norm, followed by about two-thirds of the Europeans in our sample, only about half of the Pacific Islanders in our sample follow this pattern, many because New Zealand housing does not lend itself to extended families. Almost half of the Samoans and over a third of the Cook Islanders include other relatives in their household, as compared with only 3% of the Europeans.

In additon, Islanders in our sample generally live within walking distance of three or four relatives, and make five or six visits with relatives each week. (European visits with relatives are mainly confined to their parents or grown children.) Most Samoans also attend church regularly, another setting within which they interact with other members of their ethnic community. The relatively low rate of regular church attendance among Cook Islanders is worth noting. This secularization is apparent in the islands as well, particularly in Rarotonga, and may be influenced both by the general process of modernization and by the severing of community ties taking place through step migration.

TABLE 10 Social Relations with Kinsmen and Co-Ethnics

	Samoans (N=228)	Cook Islanders (N=212)	Europeans (N=224)
Household Composition			
alone	4%	11%	11%
"flatting"	2%	3%	20%
nuclear	47%	50%	66%
extended	47%	36%	3%
Number of friends within walking distance			
mean	2.2	3.7	3.5
(s.d.)	(2.1)	(2.7)	(3.3)
Number of adult relatives within walking distance			
% none	16%	7%	67%
mean	2.9	4.3	1.1
(s.d.)	(2.3)	(2.8)	(2.0)
Average frequency of visiting (previous two weeks)			
relatives	12.5	10.4	6.6
co-ethnics	8.0	5.1	10.2
others	5.7	2.2	3.7
Attend Church/Church activities			
none	5%	56%	75%
rarely (<1/mo.)	9%	9%	13%
regularly (≥ monthly)	86%	35%	12%

They got a housing loan from State Advances, capitalising on their children's family benefit, hired builders, and their 3-bedroom house went up, quickly. All around it, the paddocks and gorse-infected hills were sprouting similar 3-bedroom houses owned by young couples who were nearly all papalagi. Everywhere all the trees had been bulldozed into oblivion. (In the 1950's and early 60's no trees were safe in New Zealand suburbs!)

Ben and Mabel's weekends were intensive periods of levelling unruly clay, plotting gardens, digging ditches, putting up fences, and cleaning. They were aided by a few relatives.

When Ben and Mabel moved to the suburbs, not only did they cut themselves off socially from their ethnic community, they also doubtless reduced their rate of mutual aid. For our migrant sample, the rates of this aid are presented in Table 11. The vast majority of Polynesian aid

Insert Table 11 about here

is exchanged with kinsmen: for both Samoans and Cook Islanders rates of exchange with relatives tend to run more than two to one over friends; for Europeans the rates generally favor friends, but are nearly even.

These exchanges of goods and services, of course, both cement kin ties and are symptomatic of their importance. As we will argue below, "ethnic identity" is largely a matter of identity with kinsmen. For most immigrants from the islands a dependence on the favors of kinsmen is essential for their very survival in the metropolitan New Zealand setting, and the reciprocities which this kin-dependence entails soon establish it as a general life adaptation. The Hellers are unusual, particularly among Samoans, in having the educational, experiential and economic resources to permit a more independent adaptation.

TABLE 11 Mutual Aid

	Samoans (N=228)		Cook Islanders (N=212)		Europeans (N=224)	
	relatives	friends	relatives	friends	relatives	friends
% Giving aid at least monthly						
Gifts of food	31%	3%	48%	16%	24%	19%
Providing transportation	14%	4%	15%	10%	23%	36%
Child care	34%	5%	22%	4%	14%	17%
Work around house or yard	19%	4%	27%	2%	11%	8%
Supplying goods from work	7%	1%	21%	5%	6%	7%
Emergency help	16%	1%	3%	2%	10%	6%
% Giving aid at least once last year:						
Help finding a job	27%	20%	35%	21%	18%	30%
Accompanying to see a person in authority	28%	18%	30%	17%	16%	14%
Loan of a valuable object	39%	27%	18%	7%	26%	36%
Loan of money	54%	33%	40%	22%	27%	39%
Total score on all 10 items (Scored 0-6 on each item) mean	26.9	11.6	25.9	10.6	17.5	21.2

Soon, during summer, the Hellers were ensconced in their sparkling new house and were pursuing quietly, diligently, the philosophy of not being too different from their papalagi neighbours.

Mabel stayed home to take care of their children, and was soon an active member of the neighbourhood housewives' activities--tennis, morning teas, shopping. It would be until the children were in elementary school, then she would return to full-time work--that, she now realised, was better than being a full-time housewife.

Polynesian women are only slightly more likely to work than European women, but almost half of them have small children needing some form of care, whereas less than a third of the European working wives have small children at home (Table 12). The way they handle this

Insert Table 12 about here

problem is also different. Samoan women usually depend on the help of a household member--older siblings or extended family members. Cook Islanders, whose households tend to be smaller, more often depend on a nearby relative. And most European women with small children take them to a child care center or hire a baby sitter. Again, Polynesian dependence on their family is apparent.

Mabel Heller followed the European pattern of waiting until her children were in school before returning to work.

Women from all three ethnic groups are similar in having had relatively short experience on their jobs--a median of two years--and in having had about twice as many jobs as the men, because employment tends to be interrupted by childbearing.

TABLE 12 Women's Adaptation to Work

	Samoans (N=228)	Cook Islanders (N=212)	Europeans (N=224)
% Currently employed	49%	54%	48%
Employed Women Only			
Who takes care of the children when you are at work?			
no children	36%	45%	46%
care for themselves	15%	9%	23%
household members	27%	9%	10%
other relatives	15%	22%	5%
friend	0	5%	0
baby sitter/child care, etc.	7%	9%	16%
Job Level			
unskilled/semiskilled labor	56%	75%	22%
skilled labor	10%	14%	17%
white-collar/clerical	34%	11%	60%
Median job length	2 yrs.	2 yrs.	2 yrs.
% Holding positions of responsibility	13%	8%	66%
% of those not holding positions of responsibility who would like to	22%	37%	21%
Hourly pay rate			
mean	$3.28	$3.32	$3.61
(s.d.)	(.41)	(.42)	(1.02)

Like the men, Polynesian women tend to hold lower status jobs than European women, and are far less likely to hold positions of responsibility (although again, many would like to). Although their average wages are not significantly lower than European women's (and their median wages are actually higher--see Table 4), they are again distinguished by a far narrower range of wages (lower standard deviation).

Mabel is unusual among Polynesian women in having a good white-collar job, like the majority of European working wives. Mabel also probably differs from most working women, regardless of ethnicity, in the importance she places on her career relative to her role as a housewife.

> *The realities of the Samoan community in the city kept intruding into this settled bourgeois peace. Like most migrants who aspire to a piece of the majority culture and who live in the heartland of that majority, Mabel and Ben viewed all the bad news about their ethnic group as a threat to their peace and aspirations. So every time there was public news about Samoan 'misbehaviour'(e.g., assaulting one another or others), Mabel would exclaim: 'Why can't they behave properly. No wonder papalagi look down on us!'*

Mabel was quite right to be perturbed by the publicity given to Polynesian violence, most of which is drinking-related and takes place in or near the public bars. Even though relatively few Samoans are regular drinkers[5] (Table 13), they account for a disproportionate amount of pub

Insert Table 13 about here

violence, and this fact has received widespread attention in the New Zealand press. Ironically, the reasons for this fact are linked in part to the strong family and ethnic loyalties which are so much a part of their migrant adaptation.

TABLE 13 Ethnic Differences in Drinking Patterns

	Samoans (N=228)	Cook Islanders (N=212)	Europeans (N=224)
% Drinkers			
men	41%	23%	90%
women	4%	44%	86%
Drinkers only			
% Who drink at home at least monthly			
men	8%	49%	69%
women	2%	30%	50%
% Who drink in pubs at least monthly			
men	24%	36%	51%
women	1%	22%	25%
% Who drink in other settings at least monthly			
men	7%	33%	64%
women	0	24%	38%
% Who usually drink in the pub with relatives (men only)	28%	10%	2%
% Bar drinkers who prefer lounge bar rather than the public bar			
men	25%	4%	70%
women	50%	55%	88%
% Who reported being involved in one or more fights last year			
men	56%	22%	47%
women	0	0	0
% Men who drink in the pub weekly, but reported no fights	15%	80%	57%

New Zealand's public bars are the working men's clubs, a place to gather with your friends after work for a few rounds of beer and a game of pool or darts before supper. The behavioral similarities between those Polynesians who participate in this sub-culture and their European neighbors are striking. Nevertheless, there are important differences, which we have documented elsewhere (Graves, Graves, Semu and Ah Sam, 1981 and in press). These studies, based on systematic observations of 216 male drinkers evenly divided between Europeans, New Zealand Maoris, and Pacific Islanders, reveal that Polynesians stay in the pubs longer and consume more alcohol than Europeans, mainly because they drink in larger groups. One consequence of this group orientation, and the high degree of group loyalty which accompanies it, is that Polynesians are more apt to join in to help a friend or relative when he gets into a fight. They are also quicker to move a conflict from the verbal to the physical level. Where Europeans have a high tolerance for verbal aggression ("Sticks and stones can break your bones . . . ."), Samoans in particular are apt to view such verbal assaults as damaging their own or their family's reputation ("A good name is bette. than a good face . . . .").

Our survey study complemented our systematic observations by providing additional information on those who go to the bars regularly. Polynesian drinking patterns are distinct in several ways. First, a substantially lower proportion of the Pacific Islanders than Europeans in our sample drink at all, and this is particularly true for women. Consequently, for those islanders who do drink, it is more a male activity, less likely to be tempered by the presence of women. Second,

the settings in which they do most of their drinking tend to be different. Although half of the Europeans in our sample have a drink in the pub at least monthly, they are more likely to drink at home or in other settings such as sporting events or private clubs. This is less true for Cook Islands men, and for Samoans the pub is the major setting in which their drinking occurs. Furthermore, even when they do drink in bars, Europeans prefer to drink in the lounge bars, whereas Polynesian men overwhelmingly prefer the public bars, where the decor is simpler and there is no dress code, and where the arrangement of tables and stools permit drinking in larger groups. Consequently, they place themselves in an arena where they are more likely to become embroiled in fights. Finally, Polynesians are far more likely to be drinking with relatives, so that family reputation and family loyalty may draw them into a conflict started by somebody else.

Nor surprisingly, within all three ethnic groups, there is a positive correlation between the number of fights a man reported in the last year and the frequency he drinks in the pub. But only among Samoans did this relationship achieve statistical significance ($r = .41$). Among Samoan men, 85% of the weekly pub drinkers also reported at least one fight in the last year. By contrast, this was true of only 43% of the weekly European bar drinkers and only 20% of the weekly Cook Islands bar drinkers.

It is the Cook Islanders who stand out most sharply in this analysis, and this conforms with data we collected independently from the security guards at 12 pubs on all incidents which occurred there over a two week

period. Cook Islanders were reportedly involved in only a small handful of cases, and rarely as initiators. The majority of islanders involved were Samoans. (No likelihood of ethnic bias here; the majority of the security guards were also Samoan.) The way Cook Islanders avoid interpersonal conflicts and their techniques of conflict resolution would be worthy of further investigation.

The next section of the Hellers' life story deals with their efforts to obtain the finest possible education for their New Zealand-born children, with the hope that they could go on for a university education and thereby raise their family's reputation even further. In this the Hellers were disappointed. Despite being placed in the best schools available, neither child received good enough marks to go to the university.

> *The girl became a social welfare worker, and married a Samoan, and they now own the house next to their parents. The son, after being a football star, joined the police force, married a papalagi at the age of 19, and is now a detective in the Force. (At times, Mabel regrets that he didn't become the lawyer she had planned for.)*

We do not know all the facts in the Hellers' case, of course, and Professor Wendt refers to their children's "average academic ability." Nevertheless, in general Polynesians suffer severe structural and psychological disadvantages within New Zealand schools. Given the fact that many islanders, like the Hellers, migrate to New Zealand in part to provide their children with what they believe to be superior educational opportunities, it is one of the particular ironies--and tragedies--of the migration process that so many Polynesian children born and raised in New Zealand fail to meet their parents' expectations.

Despite the presumed superiority of the New Zealand school system, studies have shown that Polynesian children who attend New Zealand schools do not perform as well as islands-raised children who are brought to New Zealand at a later point in their educational career (Clay, 1974). In fact, New Zealand-raised islands children and New Zealand Maori children have similarly low rates of educational attainment: Hohepa (1977) estimates that between 78 and 80% never obtain the School Certificate, the minimal high school degree. Since School Certificate and University Entrance passes are increasingly required for trade apprenticeships and white-collar jobs, Polynesian young people continue to swell the ranks of the unskilled and semi-skilled labor pool. At some future point perhaps New Zealand society will provide an educational system which takes advantage of the strengths within Polynesian culture, rather than emphasizing presumed "cultural deficits" (Graves and Graves, 1979 and in press).

> *Mabel and Ben are both executive members of the Polynesian Advisory Council for their city, an important body which advises the city and government on Polynesian affairs.*
>
> *Mabel has enlarged and renovated their house. It now has a well-stocked bar, a study, mahogany furniture, the largest colour tv you can buy, and all the other possessions any Jones would be proud of. Their contributions to their Samoan church, community, and aiga are more generous now.*
>
> *The aiga that is Mabel and Ben and their children and their spouses is a very warm and closely-knit one. The son's wife though is having great difficulty adjusting to it. Both Mabel and Ben admit this, and are changing their lifestyle to accommodate her.*

Through their children the Hellers continue to experience the conflicts between contrasting lifestyles which they had also been trying to resolve for themselves. Most immigrants must make many

accommodations to the dominant societal norms in their public behavior. But unlike the Hellers, most Samoans maintain a predominantly Samoan way of life at home: the vast majority of Samoans in our sample continue to speak mainly their native language in their homes, prefer to attend church where the service is in Samoan, eat traditional foods as often as they can afford them, and wear traditional clothing around the house at least weekly. Over three-quarters have also used traditional Samoan medicines during the last year. Although Cook Islanders in our sample are more acculturated to European norms on all of these indices of traditional behavior, a substantial number maintain a traditional lifestyle (Table 14).

Insert Table 14 about here

But when it comes to their children, the overwhelming preference of these immigrants is for some form of bi-culturalism. Well over 80% want their children to be bilingual, about 80% want them to carry <u>both</u> English and traditional names, and the majority would be happy to have their children marry a European (Table 15). As the Hellers were discovering,

Insert Table 15 about here

a bicultural synthesis of this type is difficult to pull off.

By way of summary, we showed each subject a six-point scale, along which they could physically slide a pointer. At one end we asked them to imagine their traditional Polynesian way of life, at the other a European way of life. We then asked them to indicate with the pointer, first where they would place their actual way of life, and second, the

TABLE 14 Indicators of Cultural Identification

	Samoans (N=228)	Cook Islanders (N=212)	Europeans (N=224)
What language do you speak at home?			
English only	11%	24%	-
Mostly English	5%	22%	-
Mostly Samoan/ Cook Islands Maori	84%	54%	-
How often do you attend church or church activities?			
% at least weekly	77%	19%	8%
Do you prefer to attend church services in Samoan/Cook Islands Maori or English?			
Don't attend	1%	2%	75%
English	9%	14%	-
Mix	10%	7%	-
Samoan/CI	80%	79%	-
If you could afford to, how often would you like to have Samoan/CI food?			
% at least weekly	90%	83%	-
How often do you actually have Samoan/CI food?			
% at least weekly	74%	52%	-
Around your home, how often do you wear Samoan/CI type clothing?			
% at least weekly	69%	37%	-
How often in the past year have you used traditional Samoan/CI medicine?			
% at least once	78%	34%	-

TABLE 15 Indices of Cultural Aspirations for Children

	Samoans (N=228)	Cook Islanders (N=212)
When your children grow up, do you want them to speak		
English only	1%	13%
English and Samoan/CI	89%	83%
Samoan/CI only	10%	4%
Do you prefer your children to have European or Samoan/CI names, or both?		
European names	3%	4%
both	78%	80%
Samoan/CI names	19%	16%
Would you be happy if one of your children married a European		
% yes	56%	78%

way of life they would prefer. The result of these ratings is contained in Table 16. Since 3.5 is the midpoint of this scale, it is clear that

Insert Table 16 about here

Cook Islanders as a group come closest to seeing themselves as truly bi-cultural, though both immigrant groups place themselves toward the Polynesian end of the scale. Interestingly, however, when asked which way of life they would prefer to follow, Samoans expressed satisfaction with their traditionalism, whereas both Cook Islanders and their European neighbors felt they would like to practice a more Polynesian lifestyle.

This finding is in line with other research evidence which we have collected over the last ten years that large numbers of New Zealanders of European background highly value Polynesian culture and personal attributes (Graves and Graves, 1974, Graves, 1977). In this Polynesians differ from the typical minority group in other countries, and this is reflected in their high degree of social integration. For example, in the latter study 133 native-born New Zealand university students of European cultural background rated the "ideal son-in-law" (among other social roles) on twenty descriptive adjectives drawn from those representative of open-ended descriptions of New Zealand's major ethnic groups. The following week they rated 12 of these ethnic groups on the same adjective check list. The highest correlation between the ideal son-in-law and these ethnic descriptions was with New Zealand Maoris (Spearman rho = .80), the second highest with Cook Islanders (rho = .75). (Unfortunately Samoans were not included in this list.) Although Canadians followed close

TABLE 16 Actual and Preferred Way of Life

	Samoans (N=228)	Cook Islanders (N=212)	Europeans (N=224)
(In a scale from 1 = traditional Polynesian to 6 = European) What way of life do you actually practice?			
mean	2.4	3.2	4.8
(s.d.)	(1.3)	(1.2)	(1.2)
What way of life would you prefer for yourself?			
mean	2.4	2.7	4.5
(s.d.)	(1.3)	(1.5)	(1.3)

behind (rho = .73), and native New Zealanders of European background were intermediate along with Chinese and Indians (rho = .49), all other English-based culture groups fell at the end of the list. The description of Americans had no correlation with the ideal son-in-law description, and the correlation for Englishmen was significantly negative (rho = -.20)!

Parenthetically, we should add that the better these subjects knew Maoris, the closer their ethnic descriptions of Maoris matched that of the ideal son-in-law (rho = .83). In contrast, those knowing Canadians well, were less likely to find them ideal candidates for the son-in-law role (rho = .64).

Although the Europeans in our more recent survey ramples are not representative of all New Zealanders, and have chosen (albeit in part through economic necessity) to live in integrated neighborhoods, over 50% reported that they had Polynesian relatives, and almost two-thirds that they had close Polynesian friends. When they express a desire for a more "Polynesian" lifestyle, therefore, they are usually speaking from a position of familiarity.

This provides hope for the goal of creating in New Zealand a society within which the best of both the European and Polynesian cultural traditions can flourish. However painful it may be for the transition generations, the Hellers and their children are contributing to the realization of this ideal.

One source of this transition pain is the continuing gulf between life in metropolitan New Zealand and life in the islands. While New

Zealand society is at present structurally inconsistent with many aspects of Polynesian life, the island economies and standard of living are incompatible with the lifestyle migrants and their children are evolving in New Zealand. Consequently, although many migrants nurture the hope of an eventual "return home" for retirement, often they find themselves no longer able to reintegrate easily back into a traditional lifestyle. And even if they believe they can succeed themselves, they must contemplate doing so without the presence and support of their New Zealand-raised children. In an irony playing itself out over at least three generations, the Hellers may find themselves, like their own parents, growing old without the traditional circle of children and grandchildren around them, or remaining permanently in New Zealand, as many older immigrants ultimately choose to do, despite their dreams.

> *In the nearly thirty years they have been in New Zealand, /the Hellers/ . . . have visited Samoa four times; each time to attend a parent's funeral. Every return has reinforced their view that they would only be able to stay permanently in Samoa after their children were settled in New Zealand, and they had retired from their jobs. They have bought land in Samoa on which they will build a home to retire to. Ben's retirement is only 4 years away.*
>
> *The two children visited Samoa with their father when they were teenagers. Even though their parents had tried to prepare them for the return by telling them 'not to expect too much,' the children suffered slight bouts of culture shock, the romantic myth of home shattered, though they still ended up 'enjoying their vacation' (the daughter's description).*
>
> *The daughter hasn't returned since. Recently, the son accompanied his father to his grandfather's funeral, and stayed in Samoa for 2 weeks. He wants to return permanently but won't put a date on that return. He admits, wistfully, that he couldn't work for the low police wages in Samoa; he knows too that returning with a papalagi wife would be difficult. He admits that he is 'a New Zealand Samoan.'*
>
> *Like many other children of migrants, Samoa is 'home,' a place of sun and abundant relatives and ease lodged somewhere distant but firmly in their hearts, a myth to visit periodically on vacation, but not to live in for good.*

Ben and Mabel Heller are now in a position to look back at their long "exile" in New Zealand, evaluate their choices, and contemplate the future:

> *Nearly everything they had planned to achieve has eventuated; their solid realism and determination have seen them through exile. They will return home with enough investments and pensions to ensure them a comfortable old age. They will also be young enough still to work at other jobs in Samoa if they want to.*
>
> *Ben will assume his father's alii title and all the responsibilities that go with it.*
>
> *But exile and the struggle to establish a home in the suburbs had a price: both Mabel and Ben suffer from serious cases of high blood pressure caused by overweight, worry, and the pressure of work. Ben also has heart trouble. Over the last few years both have been hospitalised, on and off, because of these ailments.*
>
> *Both expect their return to Samoa and their retirement leisure in the perpetual warmth and unhurried pace of home to heal their bodies, restore to them the vigorous strength of their pre-exile youth.*

But don't count on it! The stresses of adaptation, both social and psychological, may have taken an irreparable physical toll. At the very least their move to New Zealand has had a high cost in physical suffering--both daily aches and pains and more serious ailments.

ALTERNATIVE PATHS TO HEALTH AND ILLNESS

A major aim of our research project was to test a number of hypotheses concerning the relationship between the stress of urban adaptation and the health status of Polynesian migrants.

Two research traditions have dominated the study of stress and illness in recent years: 1) a concern with the impact of the external environment on health--both major and minor life changes, daily hassles and other stressful events which create problems for those experiencing them, and 2) intrapsychic differences which predispose people to experience the world and to react to it in a more or less stressful way. Although Holmes and Rahe published the initial formulation of their "social readjustment rating scale" for predicting cornonary heart disease (CHD) in 1967 (Holmes and Rahe, 1967) and Friedman and Rosenmann gave the "Type A" label to a constellation of behavioral and personality traits characteristic of patients suffering from CHD even earlier (1959), the research traditions which these alternative approaches generated have proceeded with almost no mutual influence or even citation![7] Psychologists and psychiatrists tend to seek explanations for behavior in the heads of their patients, regardless of their external circumstances; sociologists and epidemiologists are more apt to focus on these external circumstances and treat the actors as relatively interchangeable. With respect to stress and health, these research traditions have produced a wealth of impressive empirical results to support their position, too lengthy to cite here. But each leaves out exactly what the other chooses to emphasize. This seemed to be a perfect context for applying a truly

social-psychological, or what is sometimes referred to as an "interactionist" perspective (Howard, 1981).

Urban New Zealanders from European and Polynesian cultural backgrounds seemed ideal subjects for a study of these issues, because a priori they were assumed to differ strongly in both their frequency of Type A personality characteristics and in their exposure to various stressful environmental circumstances. "Type A" subjects have been described as exhibiting "time-urgent, impatient, hard-driving, ambitious, competitive, and hostile behaviors," and on a series of personality inventories have been shown to score higher on scales measuring aggression, autonomy, exhibition, self-confidence, adaptability to change, dominance, extraversion and liveliness (Chesney, et al., 1981: 218 and 221). In prior research we have conducted on stereotypic perceptions of Polynesian and European (particularly English/Australian/American/New Zealand and Canadian) personality characteristics, Europeans emerged as prototypic Type A personalities--i.e.: They were typically described as self-reliant, arrogant, ambitious, serious, loud and brash, adventurous and adaptable--whereas Polynesians were seen as exhibiting more Type B characteristcs--light-hearted, easy-going, unambitious, gregarious and generous with a distinct lack of time urgency: "Polynesian time" (Graves and Graves, 1974 and 1977c). As migrants from subsistence-oriented island economies with limited educational opportunities, English language skills and exposure to urban-industrial life, it was also assumed that Polynesian immigrants would suffer from many more "life changes" and situational stressors than native New Zealanders when adjusting to their new urban home. We also anticipated, however, that there would be a range of

differences among Polynesian immigrants and their European neighbors in both Type A/Type B personality characteristics and in situational stressors, depending on such factors as background preparation and experience and circumstances in the city.

In sum, our guiding hypothesis was that Polynesians as a group would differ from subjects with a European cultural background in exhibiting fewer Type A personality attributes but more situational stressors. We also anticipated that both Type A characteristics and situational stressors would be associated with higher rates of poor health. We therefore hypothesized that these would prove to be alternative paths to health problems within these two populations, and that those with the poorest health would be Polynesian immigrants who were taking on Type A personality attributes and behavior more typical of Westerners.

In order to begin an empirical examination of these issues, three measures had to be developed and incorporated into our survey interview: 1) a measure of our subjects' current state of health, 2) a measure of the various stressful circumstances they were dealing with in their daily life, and 3) a measure of various personality attributes which might predispose them to perceive and respond to these external stressors in more or less effective ways.

Research has shown that the stress of adaptation takes its toll in many forms; the particular stress symptom each subject displays depends on a variety of factors which contribute to our biological individuality. Stress simply lowers our threshold for breakdown in any physical area.

If you have enough subjects, therefore, essentially any physical symptom, from CHD to the common cold will do. With a limited subject population the best strategy is to employ a comprehensive symptom check-list, such as doctors might administer as part of their initial intake interview. Over the years such a list has evolved at the hands of many researchers; ours built on this prior experience, extending it to include symptoms commonly reported among Polynesian subjects.[8]

Table 17 presents the thirty items which we administered at the beginning of our interview as a measure of the subject's current health status. For each of the first 25 items subjects were asked to indicate

Insert Table 17 about here

on a seven point scale how often they had had each of these problems during the past year: almost every day, 3-4 times per week, once or twice per week, once or twice per month, several times last year, at least once last year, or never. Table 17 presents only the proportion of subjects within each ethnic group who reported each symptom at least monthly. Items 26-30 are indicators of manifest anxiety, answered simply yes or no, and together with the last seven items of the health scale (which are strongly psychological in content and were rescored 0 = less than monthly, 1 = at least monthly) constituted a 12 item psychosomatic subscale.

In general, this sample of Polynesians and Europeans from roughly the same socio-economic stratum and living in the same physical environment reported very similar health symptoms. The Europeans

TABLE 17 Health Symptoms Survey

Symptom	Polynesians (N=440)	Europeans (N=224)	Item vs Total - Item Correlation
How often have you had each of these problems during the past year?			
% Reporting symptom at least monthly			
1. Bad pains in your arms or your legs?	19%	14%	.37
2. Bad pains in your back?	24%	22%	.34
3. Stiff joints?	8%	12%	.21
4. Bad pains in your stomach?	13%	12%	.43
5. Upset stomach or nausea?	14%	14%	.40
6. Loss of appetite?	6%	15%	.29
7. Bitter-tasting saliva?	4%	13%	.20
8. Asthma?	2%	4%	.11
9. Chest pains?	7%	9%	.37
10. Your heart beating hard enough to bother you?	2%	6%	.31
11. Arms and legs feeling numb or going to sleep easily?	12%	12%	.36
12. Dizziness or faintness?	10%	7%	.41
13. Trembling hands?	2%	9%	.27
14. Chills and fevers?	6%	1%	.33
15. Colds or flu?	31%	3%	.29
16. (Women Only) Irregular or painful menstrual periods?	29%	23%	-

TABLE 17 (Continued)

Symptom	Polynesians (N=440)	Europeans (N=224)	Item vs Total - Item Correlation
17. Headaches?	34%	28%	.52
18. Severe or long lasting (migraine) headaches?	5%	7%	.32
19. Feeling completely exhausted?	22%	37%	.47
20. Difficulty sleeping at night?	19%	27%	.50
21. Bad dreams?	21%	11%	.48
22. Feeling tired when you wake up in the morning?	28%	47%	.48
23. Little accidents, like cutting yourself, taking a bad spill, or so on, either at home or at work?	8%	27%	.26
24. How often do you brood about bad things in the past?	29%	20%	.41
25. How often do you worry about something in the future?	32%	33%	.40
% Answering yes to the following			
26. Do you get angry more easily these days?	40%	42%	-
27. Are you more nervous or tense than you used to be?	25%	29%	-
28. Do you have difficulty concentrating on things these days?	31%	33%	-
29. Do you sometimes feel you don't care about things anymore?	39%	45%	-
30. Here are four pictures that represent different moods people can have: fairly low, fairly high, pretty average, or up and down. Which of these pictures best represents your usual mood?	31%	31%	-

TABLE 17 (Continued)

Symptom	Polynesians (N=440)	Europeans (N=224)	Item vs Total - Item Correlation
Total Health Score (Items 1-15, 17-25)			
mean	23.3	25.5	
(s.d.)	(14.9)	(13.7)	
	(p=.05)		
Total Physical Symptoms (Items 1-15, 17-18)			
mean	13.7	13.7	
(s.d.)	(9.6)	(8.9)	
Total Psychosomatic Symptoms (Items 19-30)			
mean	3.2	3.8	
(s.d.)	(2.5)	(2.5)	
	(p=.01)		

reported more loss of appetite and bitter saliva (items 6 and 7), more difficulty getting a good night's rest (items 19, 20 and 22), and are more accident-prone (item 23); the Polynesians, as has often been reported, have many more upper respiratory problems--colds and flu (item 15). Interestingly, they also report more bad dreams and brooding about the past (items 21 and 29). A high rate of upper respiratory problems among Polynesian immigrants may reflect their difficulty adjusting to New Zealand's colder climate. A more relaxed approach to life may account for less problem eating and sleeping among Polynesians and fewer minor accidents. The bad dreams and brooding may also reflect cultural differences in beliefs about supernatural causes of ill health (Apeldoorn, 1981, Mackenzie, 1973). But these differences all seem minor in comparison with the overall similarities.

Table 18 presents the 19 items in our interview which we combined to form a Situational Stressors Scale. Items appropriate to our survey population were adapted from Holmes and Rahe's "social readjustment rating scale" (1967), with others added from our ethnographic understanding of these groups. We also tried to include items which would reflect some of the minor hassles of daily life (items 1-5)[9] and later in the interview probed for more specific problems at home and at work. Again, subjects were asked to report the frequency with which they experienced these problems on the same 7 point scale we used with the health symptoms.

Insert Table 18 about here

TABLE 18 Situational Stressors Scale[10]

	Polynesians (N=440)	Europeans (N=224)
During the last year, how often has this happened to you?		
% Reporting at least monthly		
1. Running out of money?	44%	26%
2. Having troubles at work?	6%	21%
3. Having troubles at home?	25%	25%
4. Unexpected expenses?	18%	13%
5. Visitors or relatives staying in your home with you?	24%	5%
% Reporting at least once last year		
6. The death of someone close to you?	38%	28%
7. A divorce or separation?	12%	15%
8. A change of jobs?	18%	30%
9. Court appearance or brush with the law?	12%	29%
10. Notice from a debt collector?	24%	13%
11. Having to talk with an important person?	51%	31%
12. A serious accident, illness, or operation in the family?	29%	28%
13. Loss of a job?	15%	8%
14. Moving to a new home?	19%	35%
15. The loss of a friend?	25%	34%
16. Abortion, still-birth or miscarriage of a child?	3%	5%
17. Birth of a child?	24%	10%

TABLE 18 (Continued)

	Polynesians (N=440)	Europeans (N=224)
18. Problems with your children in school or elsewhere?	26%	20%
19. A child leaving home, getting married, or so forth?	11%	7%
Total Situational Stressors Score	15.7	16.5
mean	(6.7)	(7.3)
(s.d.)	p=.19	

Although overall Polynesians and Europeans in our sample are reporting about the same level of situational stress, and the slightly higher European total score is not statistically significant, there are substantial group differences on the majority of the individual items. European subjects (particularly the men) report more problems resulting from poor relations with authority: more troubles at work (usually conflicts with their supervisors), and more brushes with the law. This finding is in line with our earlier in-depth study of 157 workers in two New Zealand carpet factories (Graves and Graves, 1977a) and is apparently one factor responsible for higher rates of job turn-over among Europeans. Polynesians seem to have learned better strategies for avoiding conflict when dealing with authority.[11] Besides changing jobs more often, Europeans also change their residence more often, and these two indices of mobility may also be related. Finally, they are more apt than Polynesians to report having lost a friend.

Polynesian subjects, on the other hand, reported more stress in the area of money matters and kinship relationships: they are more likely to run out of money and receive a notice from a debt collector, and are more likely to have had relatives living with them or experience the death of someone close to them or the birth of a child. These situational stressors all follow from their larger families and obligations to kinsmen, both financially and through hospitality, which put a strain on their resources even though their incomes are roughly comparable to their European neighbors. They are also more apt to report having had to interact with some important person, usually a representative of the dominant society.

In sum, contrary to our expectations, overall the Polynesian immigrants do not report having to cope with a variety of objective situational stressors more often than their European neighbors from a similar socio-economic status. The types of situational stressors they face are often different, but each group has its own distinctive set which are logically related to their differences in cultural background. Consequently, group differences in objective environmental stressors are apparently not an important factor in accounting for group differences in health status.

The standard measure of Type A characteristics has involved assessments of certain types of behavior which are more appropriate for executives than laborers and for Europeans than Polynesians (Jenkins, et al., 1967, Rosenmann, 1978). In order to develop a cross-culturally comparable measure appropriate to our study population, therefore, we attempted to identify psychological characteristics underlying these behaviors. We then selected eight pairs of adjectives which captured as best we could the psychological dimension from Type B to Type A character traits, and presented these to our subjects in the form of a semantic differential (Osgood, et al., 1957), along with two "buffer" pairs. Responses to six of these eight items were highly correlated with each other, and constituted a single dimension when factor analyzed (using principal factoring without iteration).

These six items, their correlation with this principal factor and the proportion of Polynesian and European subjects who rated themselves within the Type A half of the scale are presented in Table 19.[12] As

TABLE 19 Type A Personality Characteristics

Item	Polynesians (N=440)	Europeans (N=224)	Factor Loading
% Reporting themselves as predominantly Type A in character (≥ 3 on a 1-6 scale)			
Relaxed-Tense	11%	33%	.75
Patient-Impatient	14%	37%	.60
Placid-Quick Tempered*	36%	48%	.54
Light Hearted-Serious	18%	43%	.53
Calm-Nervous*	30%	35%	.50
Contented-Discontented	13%	19%	.49
Total Score			
mean	15.4	18.6	
(s.d.)	(4.5)	(4.7)	
	$p < .001$		

*Starred items were presented with the adjectives reversed.

Insert Table 19 about here

anticipated, a larger proportion of Polynesians than Europeans reported themselves to be more Type B than Type A in character on every item, and in all but one case (Calm-Nervous) these ethnic differences are statistically significant at the .05 level or better. Consequently, there are highly significant ethnic differences in total score.

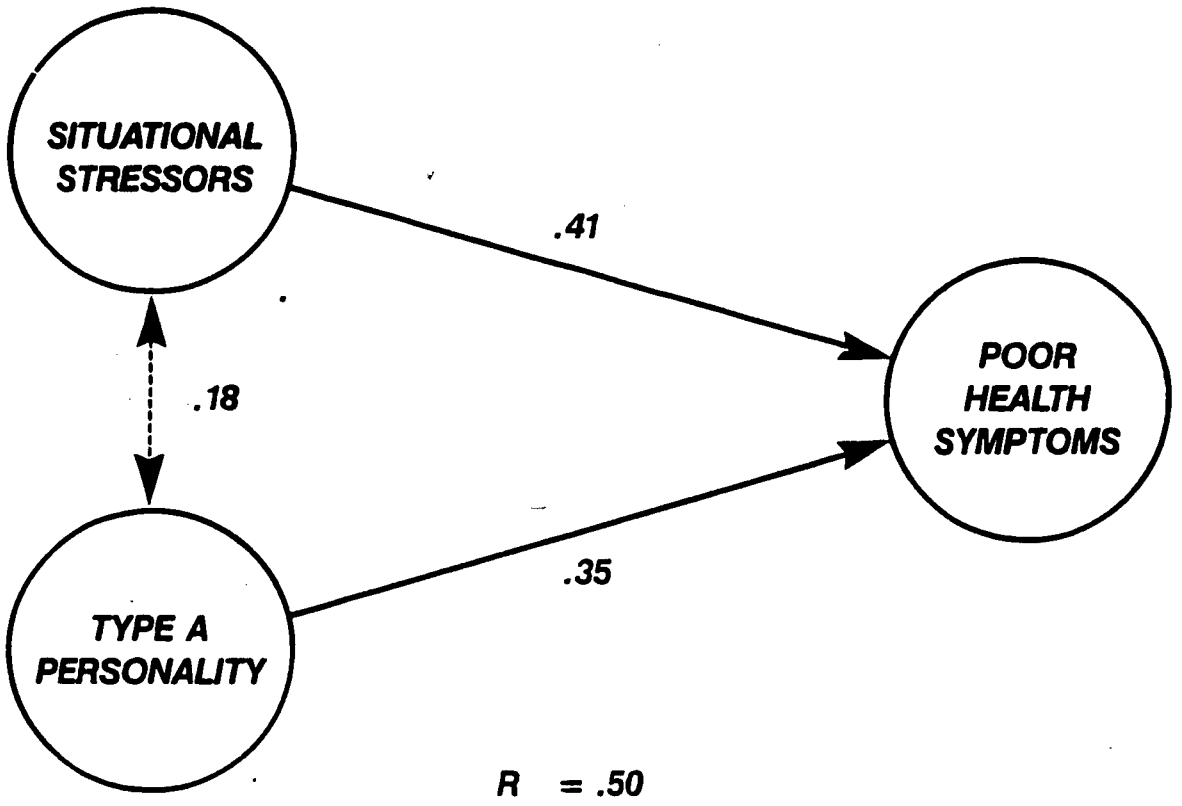
This relaxed, easy-going approach to life could be an important factor in the ability of these migrants to sustain a heavy dose of stressful situations in their new urban environment without even as much physical breakdown as their European neighbors.[13]

With good measures of each variable in our theory now in hand, we are in a position to test the hypothesis: Those subjects, whether Polynesian or European, who are experiencing the most situational stressors and/or are the most "Type A" in personality characteristics will manifest the most symptoms of poor health. Furthermore, these are relatively independent, alternative paths to health problems, and when combined they should yield even higher predictive results. A test of this hypothesis for the study sample as a whole is presented in Figure 2.

Insert Figure 2 about here

Overall, our hypothesis received strong empirical support, with both Type A characteristics and situational stressors contributing significantly to rates of reported health symptoms. Furthermore, since these two measures have a relatively low correlation with each other

FIGURE 2 Situational Stressors, Type A Personality and Health



(r = .18 in the study sample as a whole, and ranging from .00 to .27 in the various sub-groups) the measurement of both has significantly increased the amount of variation in health status that we can account for.

Our confidence in the validity of these findings is increased, furthermore, by the fact that they were replicated within all three of the ethnic groups in our study,[14] and among both men and women (Table 20).

Insert Table 20 about here

Because of the relative independence of these two determinants of health status, we were able to isolate two groups of subjects for comparison: those who were high (above the median) in their situational stressors score but low (below the median) in Type A characteristics, and those who were high in Type A characteristics but low in situational stressors. We then compared the pattern of health symptoms which each of these contrasting groups reported. The two groups were essentially identical in health status: there were no statistically significant differences between these two groups on any of the 30 items in our health survey. Given the large number of subjects involved and the number of symptoms, this degree of similarity between these two groups is striking. We conclude that indeed intrapsychic and external stressors are alternative paths to the same set of health problems.

In conclusion, when socio-economic status is controlled as well as is possible, there are few differences between Polynesian immigrants and their European neighbors in the number of situational stressors they

TABLE 20 Psychological and Situational Predictors of Health Status

Correlations:	Males (N=303)	Females (N=361)	Samoans (N=228)	Cook Islanders (N=212)	Europeans (N=224)
Type A vs. Health Symptoms	.30	.35	.28	.27	.44
Situational Stressors vs. Health Symptoms	.35	.41	.35	.35	.41
Type A vs. Situational Stressors	.00	.27	.02	,10	.23

must cope with daily in the city. But Polynesians do differ from Europeans in being more relaxed, patient, calm, light-hearted and contented than Europeans, and less quick-tempered. These personality characteristics appear to be one important factor in protecting them from the stress symptoms which might otherwise accompany their adaptation to an urban-industrial way of life in New Zealand.

ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES AND HEALTH STATUS

Repeatedly the data reported in the previous sections have emphasized the strong reliance which the majority of Polynesian immigrants place on their kinsmen for their passage to New Zealand, housing, jobs, social support and visiting, mutual aid, financial assistance, translation and other forms of mediation between the new migrant and the dominant society. This heavy dependence on a wide circle of relatives is a common strategy among urban migrants from non-industrial communities throughout the world (Graves and Graves, 1974, 1980); it permeates so many aspects of their lives that we have come to regard it as constituting a generalized "adaptive strategy" which we have termed "Kin-Reliance" (T. Graves, 1978, Graves and Graves, 1977b and 1980). In our research among Polynesian immigrants to New Zealand, Kin-Reliance has proved to be their dominant adaptation to life.

Among those like the senior authors from a predominantly English or northern European cultural tradition, this level of reliance on a

wide circle of relatives is far less common. Instead, we have been urged from childhood to rely on ourselves, or at least to confine our dependence to support from within our nuclear family. If outside assistance is needed, we are taught to turn to impersonal institutions within the society: banks, employment agencies, child-care centers, etc. If we need help we usually prefer to pay for it, even if that help comes from friends and acquaintances. This type of general life adaptation we have termed "Self-Reliance."

Among native New Zealanders, and particularly among Maoris, a third type of adaptation has also come to our attention, which we have labeled "Peer-Reliance." This involves a heavy dependence on friends and neighbors in times of need--persons of roughly your own generation and social standing. These are your "mates": your drink with them, play sports with them, and share information and resources with them. One of your friends can "get it for you wholesale," another will do a job around your home at "mate's rates." In turn, you will be expected to reciprocate with your own particular skills and talents. And all keep their ears open for information, job opportunities, and so forth, which may be helpful to their friends.

To be effective, this adaptation requires a wide communication network to put a person in touch with what resources are available through friendship channels. This is one of the important latent functions of going to the local pub or sporting club. For those with a peer-reliant adaptation, there are obvious costs in time and money: social networks must be kept widespread and in good repair. While Self-Reliant people are getting additional training, putting money in the

bank and buying insurance policies, and reading the help-wanted advertisements, those with a Peer-Reliant adaptation are investing in people: "hanging out" with their friends, buying rounds of beer, participating in sports groups, and exchanging labor. To a Self-Reliant person this is often seen as an irresponsible waste of time.

But a Self-Reliant strategy has its own price: goods and services cost substantially more money, you must keep informed as to what services community agencies offer, and accept the relative insensitivity and impersonality of those they provide. "Friends are good medicine"; the Self-Reliant individual too often suffers the psychic penalities of social isolation. On the other hand, you can "count on yourself," "be your own boss," and avoid the potential cost and inconvenience of calls on your time and energy.

In our present survey study we were able to refine our measurement of these three adaptive strategies through a systematic sampling of the behavioral domains within which they are typically manifested: household composition, various forms of social and emotional support, friendship networks, visiting patterns, leisure-time recreational activities, and a variety of forms of mutual aid: to whom and from whom money, information, and services are exchanged. For each "adaptive strategy" we formulated fifteen items, which were refined through careful statistical analysis. These items are presented in Tables 21 through 23, together with the proportion of subjects receiving a positive score on each, and the relationship between that item and a total score based on the other 14.

Finally, ethnic differences in total scores on all 15 items are also presented. These tables provide a useful summary of much of the information presented in earlier sections of this report.

Insert Tables 21-23 about here

Notice that the Polynesians in our sample, particularly the Samoans, are consistently higher than the Europeans on every item composing the Kin-Reliance scale except the two having to do with obtaining money from relatives in times of need. Overall, consequently, Polynesians have higher scores on this strategy at a highly significant level ($t = 18.35$, $p < .001$).

European subjects tend to be higher than Polynesians, however, in both Self-Reliant and Peer-Reliant strategies, and overall these differences are also statistically significant ($t = 6.88$ and 6.93, respectively; $p < .001$). Nevertheless, it is obvious that many Pacific Islands immigrants have adopted at least part of the strategies more typical of native New Zealanders. Among Polynesian men, who are the major determiners of what strategy will be followed by their family, for example, there is a positive correlation between length of time in New Zealand and Self-Reliance scores ($r = .27$). Case studies often show Polynesian families moving away from their relatives with time in New Zealand, as did the Hellers, and less dependent on them for help in finding jobs, etc. Counteracting this tendency, however, as Polynesian families become firmly established in New Zealand, newer migrants may turn to them more for help and advice.

TABLE 21 The Measurement of Kin-Reliance

Item	Samoans (N=228)	Cook Islanders (N=212)	Europeans (N=224)	Item vs Total - Item Correlation* (N=728)
Household Composition:				
a. Lives in an extended family	47%	36%	3%	.29
Social-Emotional Support				
a. When in trouble or upset, turns to parents or relatives	45%	37%	25%	.17
b. One or more relative lives within walking distance	84%	93%	33%	.46
Visiting Patterns:				
a. 9 or more visits with relatives during last 2 weeks	76%	59%	30%	.37**
b. Visited with 6 or more different relatives during last 2 weeks	77%	53%	25%	.32**
Leisure Time Activities:				
a. At least monthly recreational activities with relatives	41%	24%	6%	.35
Social Contacts at Work:				
a. One or more relative at work	40%	66%	14%	.25
Mutual Aid:				
a. Relative helped get present job	55%	56%	17%	.37
b. Relative accompanied them to job interview	34%	32%	10%	.31
c. $250 or more given to relatives last year	86%	54%	17%	.37
d. Loaned money to relative last year	53%	38%	27%	.33

TABLE 21 (Continued)

Item	Samoans (N=228)	Cook Islanders (N=212)	Europeans (N=224)	Item vs Total - Item Correlation* (N=728)
e. Would turn to relatives for a loan if needed	38%	37%	38%	.10
f. Received a loan from relatives last year	40%	27%	32%	.22
g. Above median in other aid given to relatives	59%	61%	38%	.35
h. Above median in other aid received from relatives	53%	51%	46%	.28
Total Kin-Reliance Score				
mean	8.3	7.1	3.7	
(s.d.)	(2.6)	(2.4)	(2.6)	

* Includes 64 Maori subjects

** Because of covariance between these two items, both were removed from the total score when calculating item vs. total correlations.

TABLE 22 The Measurement of Peer-Reliance

Item	Samoans (N=228)	Cook Islanders (N=212)	Europeans (N=224)	Item vs Total - Item Correlation* (N=728)
Household Composition:				
a. Lives with friends	2%	3%	20%	.27
Social-Emotional Support:				
a. When in trouble or upset, turns to friends or siblings	27%	24%	35%	.17
b. Four or more friends live within walking distance	18%	44%	44%	.19
c. Belongs to a regularly meeting social group	34%	25%	38%	.18
Visiting Patterns:				
a. 9 or more visits with friends during last 2 weeks	57%	29%	62%	.35**
b. Visited with 6 or more different friends during last 2 weeks	63%	32%	57%	.32**
Leisure Time Activities:				
a. At least monthly recreational activities with friends	61%	35%	56%	.32
Social Contacts at Work				
a. One or more close friends at work (someone seen outside of work)	55%	49%	43%	.11
Mutual Aid:				
a. Friend helped get present job	17%	21%	18%	.14
b. Friend accompanied them to job interview	7%	3%	0%	.09

TABLE 22 (Continued)

Item	Samoans (N=228)	Cook Islanders (N=212)	Europeans (N=224)	Item vs Total - Item Correlation* (N=728)
c. Loaned money to friend last year	33%	21%	38%	.41
d. Would turn to friends for a loan if needed	6%	4%	11%	.24
e. Received a loan from friend last year	26%	11%	28%	.45
f. Above median in other aid given to friends last year	34%	38%	71%	.36
g. Above median in other aid received from friends	35%	33%	64%	.44
Total Peer-Reliance Score mean (s.d.)	4.8 (2.6)	3.7 (2.3)	5.8 (2.6)	

* Includes 64 Maori subjects

** Because of covariance between these two items, both were removed from the total score when calculating item vs. total correlations.

TABLE 23 The Measurement of Self-Reliance

Item	Samoans (N=228)	Cook Islanders (N=212)	Europeans (N=224)	Item vs Total - Item Correlation* (N=728)
Household Composition:				
a. Lives alone or in a nuclear household	51%	61%	77%	.21
Social-Emotional Support:				
a. When in trouble or upset, turns to no one, spouse, children, or impersonal social agency	35%	47%	47%	.13
b. No kinsmen and less than 4 friends within walking distance, and no regularly meeting social group	9%	8%	20%	.12
Visiting Patterns:				
a. Less than 19 visits with friends or relatives during last two weeks	34%	65%	53%	.30**
b. Visited with less than 12 different friends or relatives during last two weeks	27%	64%	57%	.27**
Leisure Time Activities:				
a. Less than monthly recreational activities with friends or relatives	28%	47%	44%	.22
Social Contacts at Work:				
a. No relatives or close friends at work	11%	12%	19%	.12
Mutual Aid:				
a. Got present job by self	35%	34%	68%	.14

Although the empirical evidence so far has been somewhat mixed, (see the review in Graves and Graves, 1980), we initially assumed that migrants who displayed kin-reliant or peer-reliant adaptive strategies would be healthier than those who adopted a more typically Western Self-Reliant strategy. The basis for this hypothesis was our belief that a supportive network of family and friends would be stress-buffering for Polynesians as it had been for other migrant groups (Omari, 1956; Marmot and Syme, 1976).

Table 24 demonstrates that this assumption was ill-founded. Among Samoans, both men and women, Kin-Reliant and Peer-Reliant strategies are both associated with higher rates of reported health

Insert Table 24 about here

symptoms than those who emphasize more typically European Self-Reliant strategies. Among Cook Islanders and Europeans, however, the pattern of relationships is inconsistent and weak. For these two groups, apparently, their choice of emphasis among adaptive strategies has little impact on their health. Among Samoans, however, group-oriented strategies seem to be aversive rather than supportive.

An examination of the empirical relationship between health status and the elements which constitute these strategies reveals that the main factor responsible for this outcome is the amount of mutual aid which these group-oriented strategies require for their maintenance. Only among Samoans is this mutual aid strongly associated with more reported health symptoms ($r = .45$ and $.47$ for men and women, respectively). And only among Samoans is the number of friends and relatives within walking distance,

TABLE 23 (Continued)

Item	Samoans (N=228)	Cook Islanders (N=212)	Europeans (N=224)	Item vs Total - Item Correlation* (N=728)
b. No one accompanied them to job interview	65%	65%	88%	.11
c. Less than $300 spent on relatives last year	14%	46%	83%	.17
d. No loans given to friends or relatives last year	39%	58%	50%	.31
e. Would turn to bank, etc. for a loan if needed	54%	57%	50%	.10
f. No loans received from friends or relatives last year	54%	69%	54%	.30
g. Below median in other aid given to friends and relatives last year	54%	53%	50%	.23
h. Below median in other aid received from friends and relatives last year	55%	61%	43%	.27
Total Self-Reliance Score				
mean	5.6	7.4	8.0	
(s.d.)	(2.5)	(2.3)	(2.7)	

* Includes 64 Maori subjects

** Because of covariance between these two items, both were removed from the total score when calculating item vs. total correlations.

TABLE 24 Adaptive Strategies versus Health Symptoms

	Samoans		Cook Islanders		Europeans	
	men (N=104)	women (N=124)	men (N=95)	women (N=117)	men (N=104)	women (N=120)
Kin-Reliance	.31	.24	.36	-.04	-.06	.15
Peer-Reliance	.23	.37	-.08	-.18	-.03	.13
Self-Reliance	-.30	-.33	-.16	.12	-.03	-.28

For Ns of about 100, correlations of .20 are statistically significant at the .05 level, and correlations of .25 are significant at the .01 level (two-tailed test).

the amount of money given to relatives, and the number of visits during the last two weeks (mainly with relatives and co-ethnics) consistently associated with more reported health symptoms. In fact, among Cook Islanders and Europeans these relationships usually go in the opposite direction, though the magnitude of these correlations tends to be small.

Two things may be operating here. First, in a cross-sectional study such as this it is difficult to untangle cause and effect relationships. For example, those migrants with the poorest preparation for urban New Zealand life are also both those most likely to adopt a Kin-Reliant strategy and those most likely to be experiencing high levels of stress in their new environment. The stress-buffering effects of a warm and close circle of kinsmen may be ameliorating the physical manifestations of this stress to some degree, but not enough to off-set the positive correlation with poor health symptoms.

Second, as we have already noted, each type of adaptive strategy has its price, and this is particularly true of Kin-Reliance. In order to be able to count on your family, they must be able to count on you: to contribute to and attend family functions, to give deference and respect to elders when family decisions are being made, to feed and house your relatives when they move to New Zealand or come for a visit, to support them in conflicts with outsiders, and to behave in ways which maintain the family's good "name."

Samoans in particular tend to associate a Kin-Reliant strategy with the maintenance of a traditional faasamoan lifestyle and ethnic identity. (For Cook Islanders there is no correlation between

lifestyle and adaptive strategy.) Consequently, they tend to view the costs of maintaining kin ties as a threat to their Samoanness. This probably increases the psychic burden of these costs. Furthermore, many Samoan immigrants, like the Hellers, have come to New Zealand as part of a general strategy to improve their wider family's status. With a strong drive to achieve "success" in their new environment, the price of Kin-Reliance may appear particularly burdensome. Increasingly we hear Samoans complaining that "our culture keeps us poor."

How Samoans are ultimately going to resolve these internal conflicts and avoid the psychic and physical penalties which they appear to produce is a challenge which they must confront both individually and collectively. Cook Islanders appear to have made good progress in this direction, partly, perhaps, because psychologically they seem to have less at stake in the outcome.

CONCLUSIONS

In this report the experiences of Mabel and Ben Heller, two Samoans of part-German extraction who migrated to New Zealand in the mid '50s, have served as a framework for examining the more general experience of Pacific Islanders in adjusting to life in New Zealand. Although each individual adaptation may differ, all must deal with the same general problems: transportation to New Zealand, housing, jobs, friends, communicating with and relating to the dominant European society, raising a family, and ultimately preparing for retirement. Whether migrants choose to rely on the help of friends or relatives, or whether like the Hellers they have the personal resources to solve most of these problems for themselves is an individual decision, but one which is also shared to varying degrees by others.

Today most Pacific Islands immigrants adopt a predominantly kin-reliant strategy on first coming to New Zealand. In general, the social support which this type of adaptation provides probably helps them to deal effectively with their many new adjustment problems in the city without severe physical breakdown. In fact, as a group the Pacific Islanders in our sample appear to be somewhat healthier, have fewer little accidents and lose less time from work because of sickness than their European neighbors.

Each of these three adaptations, however, Kin-Reliance, Peer-Reliance or Self-Reliance, has its own price. The Hellers paid dearly for their self-reliant adaptation in both the conflicts which it created with other Samoans, and the internal tension it generated in trying to resolve incompatibilities between a faasamoan and a faapapalagi way of life.

But maintaining a more traditional kin-reliant adaptation appears to be even more costly, at least for Samoans. For all who adopt a kin-reliant strategy, but particularly for the Samoans in our sample, the expectations associated with maintaining a "good name" within the family--in terms of time, energy, and money--are very high, and are seen by many as burdensome. Consequently, the "stress- buffering" benefits of kinship support are off-set by the additional demands made on Samoan migrants by their relatives.

Our research also suggests that for Samoans, but not for Cook Islanders, a kin-reliant adaptation tends to be seen as part of their identity as Samoans. This doubtless increases the psychological impact of conflicts between the expectations of kinship and their aspirations for individual achievement.

How to resolve these apparent conflicts is an important issue which Samoans both individually and collectively must work out for themselves. It is important for the mental health of these people that their cultural heritage be seen as an asset rather than a liability. Respect for Samoan culture within the wider society could help this come about.

A peer-reliant adaptation has not proved to be an effective alternative for Samoans either. By shifting their loyalty from the hierarchical extended family group to the more egalitarian peer group they can avoid some of the economic and social costs of Kin-Reliance and the more authoritarian forms of social control. But the reciprocities required in maintaining their friendship circle, particularly those associated with their drinking companions, appear also to take a high toll in symptoms of poor health and increased social conflict.

As a group, Cook Islanders in New Zealand appear to have come close to achieving a stable and relaxed form of biculturalism. On most of our indices they fall intermediate between Samoans and Europeans: in family size and structure, in church attendance, in interaction patterns and drinking behavior, and in general lifestyle. And with over half the Cook Islands population now living in New Zealand, the pressures for back-home support are not now burdensome. Finally, by retaining their Polynesian skills in conflict resolution and conflict avoidance, they have developed patterns of drinking behavior which result in fewer social problems than their European neighbors.

Another apparently important factor in the comparatively good adjustment and physical health of Pacific Islands immigrants is their predominantly easy-going, "Type B" personality. This helps them to experience the many life changes and daily hassles which inevitably accompany migration with less physical and psychic strain than people exhibiting more typically Western "Type A" characteristics. This is a healthy approach to life shared by both Samoans and Cook Islanders, and one which many New Zealanders of European heritage would like to emulate. In working out a new cultural synthesis in New Zealand, it is hoped that Polynesians will not lose these adaptive behavior patterns for coping with life, but will instead help their European neighbors to learn them for themselves.

FOOTNOTES

1. The survey research reported in this paper was conducted under the auspices of the South Pacific Research Institute, Inc., supported by grants from the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, AA03231-01, 01S1, 02 and 03 (1979-82) and a Summer Community Service Award from the New Zealand government (1979-80). Observations of barroom drinking reported in this paper were initiated as an M.A. thesis by Vineta N. Semu, and subsequently supported by NIAAA grant No. 03203-01 (1977-78), under which we also collected incidents of disruptive barroom behavior. The pilot research in two Auckland carpet factories was supported by a grant tendered by the Vocational Training Council, Government of New Zealand, to the Polynesian Advisory Committee and the Department of Management Studies, University of Auckland, where the senior authors were research associates and lecturers in social behavior (1976-77). The research on ethnic stereotypes was conducted while the senior authors were lecturing in the Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland (1972-73), with subsequent analysis while T. Graves held a fellowship and research grant from the Royal Society of New Zealand (1973-75). This fellowship plus a subsequent grant from the National Institute of Mental Health MH 30139-01 and 02 (1977-79) made possible several trips to the Cook Islands, including 14 months of residence in 1974-75, which have served as background for our studies of Polynesian urban adaptation. The support of all these agencies over our years of research in New Zealand and the South Pacific is gratefully acknowledged.

Many people have assisted us in various ways during this period; in particular we would like to acknowledge the colleagueship and critical reading of our various research reports by Dr. Jane Ritchie, Professor James Ritchie and Professor David Thomas, all cross-cultural psychologists at the University of Waikato, Dr. Cluny Macpherson (Sociology), Dr. Patrick W. Hohepa and Dr. Rangi Walker (Maori Studies) at the University of Auckland, and Dr. Peter R. Sharples from the office of the Race Relations Conciliator in Auckland. Finally, we wish to thank Professor Murray Chapman of the East-West Center Population Institute, University of Hawaii, for his invitation to present this paper at the XV Pacific Sciences Congress in Dunedin, and for support from the East-West Center which made our trip to the Congress possible.

2. We are particularly indebted to Mr. Iulai Ah Sam for his creativity in this area of instrument development.

3. A small sample of 64 native New Zealand Maori women were also interviewed; unfortunately, time and circumstances did not permit the collection of a full Maori sample. These data will not be discussed in this paper.

4. All quotes in the sections which follow are from Wendt, 1981.

5. We have relatively little available data on the adoption of Western drinking patterns by Polynesian immigrants to New Zealand. Among Tokelau Islanders it has been reported that "the prevalence of drinking appeared to rise quickly after migration, to involve 49 percent of the males 2.2 years after migration and 60 percent of the

males 4.8 years after migration. Subsequently some decline occurred as older men ceased drinking. A continued increase in frequency of drinking occurred" (Stanhope and Prior, 1979: 420). In the same article, however, the authors reported a fairly similar rise in prevalence of drinking in the islands between their 1968-71 and 1976 surveys, from 34% to 50% and the frequency of drinking more than doubled. So as alcoholic beverages became more readily available, the same trend was occurring back home as among migrants in New Zealand.

Among the Samoan men in our own survey we found no relationship between whether or not a person was a drinker or the frequency they drank and the length of time they had been living in New Zealand ($r = .02$ and $.00$, respectively) or the age at which they came ($r = .03$ and $.02$, respectively), but a strong negative association with an index of cultural traditionalism ($r = -.20$ and $-.26$, respectively). Among Cook Islands men there was also no relationship between drinker status or frequency of drinking and age at time of migration ($r = .07$ and $.08$, respectively), but there was a weak negative association with the length of time they had been here ($r = -.14$ and $-.15$, respectively). There was also a weak but positive association between drinking and the maintenance of traditional patterns of behavior ($r = .15$ and $.16$, respectively). Apparently neither group of immigrants are becoming drinkers or increasing their frequency of consumption as a result of increased exposure to New Zealand society. Among Samoan men, however, those who identify with a traditional way of life drink less often, whereas

the more traditional Cook Islands men drink more often! At least within our study population, where a great deal of peer drinking takes place among work mates, the dominant society is not having a strong or uniform impact in undermining more traditional Polynesian sobriety, and each group of immigrants is developing its own pattern of adaptation to alcohol. What appears to be happening is that within those groups where there were strong traditional restrictions against alcohol consumption, as in Samoa and until fairly recently among Tokelau Islanders, certain new migrants are quick to experiment with alcohol, especially among those men who reject these traditional constraints. And as we will see below, among Samoan men this experimentation is strongly associated with pub violence. Among Cook Islanders, by contrast, where drinking is relatively widespread in their home communities and where cultural prohibitions are probably weaker, the only change in New Zealand is the normal moderation which occurs with increased age and responsibility.

6. The prevalence of drinking among the general New Zealand population has been estimated as 91% for males and 83% for females, almost identical to that obtained within our European sample. See McCreary, 1974.

7. The only published article relating these two approaches that we have found is Suls, et al., 1979, in which they find (as we did) that Type A subjects report more life changes than do Type B subjects. They also report that Type A subjects react differently than Type B subjects to these events, displaying more psychological distress when

these events are undesirable, unanticipated, and ambiguous with respect to whether or not they were responsible for them. This suggests that Type A behavior may reflect an effort to maintain personal control over life's events and their outcomes.

8. For a review of prior research, including our own, using earlier versions of this health symptom check-list, see Graves and Graves, 1979a. The present scale differs mainly in measuring the frequency of each symptom during the last year, rather than simply its presence or absence.

9. See Kanner, et al., 1981, for recent evidence that a "daily hassles" scale may predict health status as well or better than the traditional Holmes and Rahe social readjustment rating scale based on major life events.

10. Because most of the items in the Situational Stressors Scale are relatively rare events, and are largely determined by factors external to the subject's control, they represent alternative sources of environmental stress, rather than a generalized syndrome such as poor health and Type A personality. Consequently, item-total score correlations are low and not worth reporting. In this type of situation the "reliability" of a scale cannot be estimated from its internal consistency. The highly consistent correlations between this scale and the Health Symptoms scale, replicated within every sex-by-ethnic subsample in our study, however, is strong evidence for its "construct validity."

11. For clues in their childrearing, see Howard, 1974 and Ritchie and Ritchie, 1979.

12. Getting good decentered translations for these personality dimensions presented real problems, and probably account for the two items which we had to discard: A person who TRIES HARD or TAKES IT EASY, and FORWARD - BASHFUL. "Striving," for example, is not a concept which Polynesians find it easy to render into their language. For the remaining six, however, we were gratified to obtain relatively similar patterns of intercorrelation within each ethnic group.

13. Howard (1974) discusses at some length the Hawaiian-American strategy of risk-minimization ("Ain't no big thing") when coping with the many situational stresses which bear on this depressed population. None of our background variables correlate significantly with Type A personality among Polynesians, but Graves and Graves, 1978 may be relevant for understanding how islanders acquire these personality attributes prior to migration.

14. The same pattern was found within the small sample of Maori women not being discussed in this paper: $r = .55$ between situational stressors and health status, and .36 between Type A characteristics and health, though there was a stronger association between stressors and Type A than in the other samples: $r = .30$.

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